

## THE LIBERATOR

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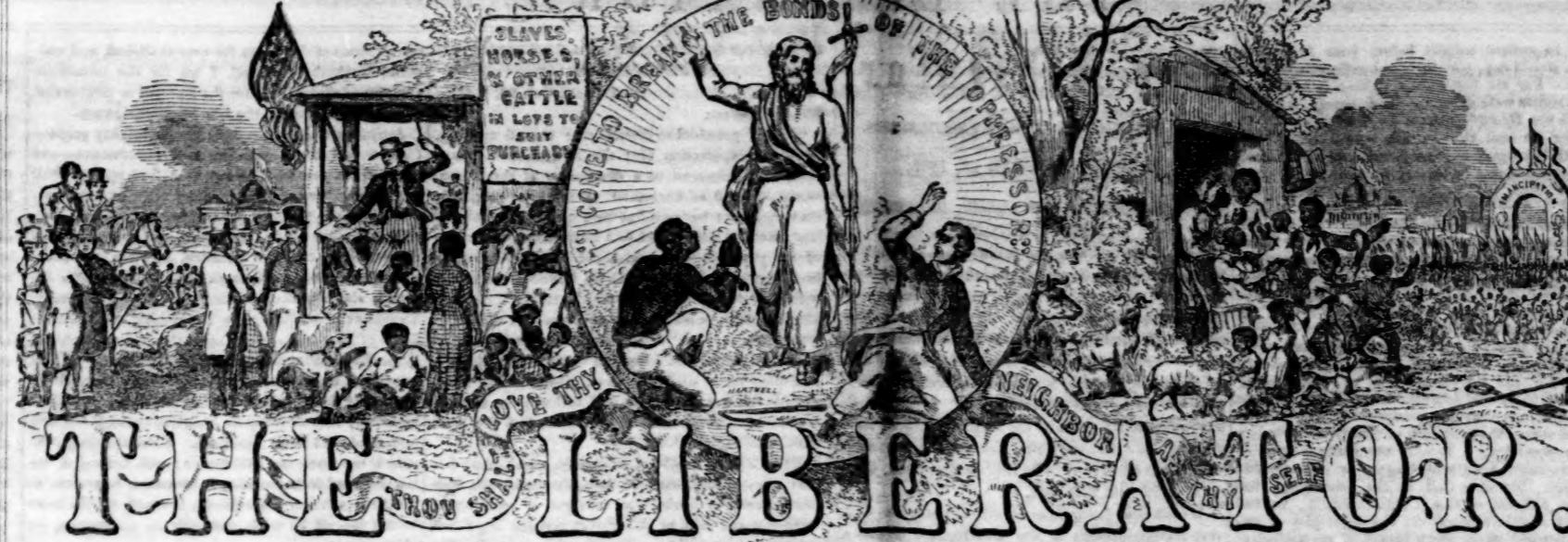
## NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.

The free States are the guardians and esen-  
tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-  
stables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse  
for communities, when, under a generous impulse,  
they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,  
and by force restore their rights; but they are without  
excuse in aiding other States in binding on men on  
unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in  
FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE  
RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century,  
see the path of duty more clearly than they,  
and must walk in it. To this point the public mind  
has long been tending, and the time has come for looking  
at it fully, dispassionately, and with many and  
Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union  
can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving  
of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be  
perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it  
can only continue through our participation in wrong  
doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

— WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINGTON &amp; SON, Printers.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1857.

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## The Liberator.

## THE COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND THE AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

What are the relations and compromises of the Union as pertaining to American Slavery?

WHAT SAY YOU, ALEXANDER HAMILTON?

The first thing objected to, is that clause which gives a representation for three-fifths of the negroes. Much has been said of the improvidence of representing men who have no will of their own. — Whether this be reasoning or declamation, (I) will not presume to say. It is the unfortunate situation of the Southern States to have a great part of their population as well as property, in blacks. The regulation complained of was one result of the spirit of accommodation which governed the Convention; and without this indulgence, no Union could possibly have been formed. But, sir, considering some peculiar advantages which we derive from them, it is surely just that they should be gratified. The Southern States possess certain staples—tobacco, sugar, indigo, &c. which must be capital objects in a state of commerce with foreign nations; and the plantations which they necessarily possess in these states will be felt throughout all the States.

WHAT SAY YOU, JAMES MADISON?

Extract from No. LIV. of 'The Federalist,' on 'The Ratio of Representation.'

The next view which I shall take of the House of Representatives relates to the apportionment of members to the several States, which is to be determined by the same rule with that of direct taxes. It will perhaps be said, But does it follow from a diminution of numbers for the measure of representation, or of slaves combined with free citizens, a ratio of taxation, that slaves ought to be included in the numerical rule of representation? Slaves are considered property, not as persons. They ought, therefore, to be comprehended in estimates of taxation which are founded on property, and to be excluded from representation which is regulated by census of persons. This is the objection, as I understand it, stated in its full force. I shall be equally candid in stating the reasoning which may be offered on the opposite side.

We subscribe to the doctrine, might one of our southern brethren observe, that representation relates more immediately to persons, and taxation more immediately to property, and we join in the application of this distinction to the case of our slaves. But we must deny the fact that slaves are considered merely as property, and in no respect as persons. The true state of the case is, that they partake of both these qualities; being governed, by our laws, in some respects as persons, and in others as slaves. In being compelled to labor for his master, for a master in every sense, and rendered by one master to another master, and in every subject at all times to be restrained in liberty, and chastised in his body, by the captives will of another, the slave may appear to be deprived from the human rank, and classed with the irrational animals which fall under the legal denomination of property. In being protected, on the other hand, in his life and in his limbs, against the violence of all others, even the master of his labor and his liberty, and in being punished him self for all violence committed against others, the slave is no less evidently regarded by the law as a member of society, not as a part of the irrational creation; as a moral person, not as a mere article of property. The Federal Constitution, therefore, deals with great propriety on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persons and of property. This is, in fact, their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be denied that these are the proper criterion. • • •

Let the case of the slaves be considered, as it is a truth, a peculiar one. Let the compromising exercise of the Constitution be mutually adopted, which regards them as inhabitants, but as debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants; which regards the slaves as divested of all the rights of the man.

What have you to say, Mr. Madison, in regard to constitutional slave-hunting and slave-catching?

Another clause secures us that property which we now possess. At present, if any slave elopes to any of those States where slaves are free, he becomes emancipated by their laws; for the laws of the States are uncharitable (I) to one another in this respect; but in this Constitution, No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

THE CLAUSE WAS EXPRESSLY INSERTED TO EXALTE OWNERS OF SLAVES TO RECLAIM THEM. This is a higher security than any that now exists. No power is given to the General Government to interfere with the property in slaves now held by the States.

WHAT SAY YOU, DANIEL WEBSTER?

We have slaves already amongst us. The Constitution found it amongst us; it recognized it, and it is SILENT GUARANTORS. To the full extent of these guarantees, we are all bound, in honor, justice, and by the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitution in favor of the slaveholding States, which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, and so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled, in the fulness of their spirit and to the exactness of their letter!!!

WHAT SAY YOU, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS?

It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South, as a condition of their ascent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the law of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the clause, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of commerce, under the name of persons.

The reluctance with which the freemen of the North submitted to the dictates of these conditions, is witnessed by the awkward and ambiguous language in which they are expressed. The word slave is used continually and fastidiously excluded from the whole instrument. A stranger, who should come from a remote land, and inquire into the Constitution of the United States, would not believe that slavery or a slave existed within the borders of our country. There is not a word in the Constitution apparently bearing upon the condition of slaves, nor is there a provision but would be susceptible of practical execution, if there were not a slave in the land.

The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia distinctly avowed that, without this guarantee of protection to their property in slaves, they would not yield their assent to the Constitution; and the freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principle of their liberty, or of forfeiting the Union itself, averted their faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond.

The representation, ostensibly of slaves, under the name of persons, was in its operation an excessive grant of power to one class of proprietors, owners of one species of property, to the detriment of all the rest of the community. This species of property were slaves in their nature, held in direct violation of the natural and inalienable rights of man, and of the vital principles of Christianity; it was all accumulated in one geographical section of the country, and was all held by wealthy men, comparatively small in numbers, not amounting to a tenth part of the free white population of the States in which it was concentrated.

In some of the ancient, and in some modern republics, extraordinary political power and privileges have been invested in the owners of horses; but then these privileges and these powers have been granted for the equivalent of extraordinary duties and services to the community required of the favored class. The Roman Knights constituted the cavalry of their armies, and the bushels of rings gathered by Hannibal from their dead bodies after the battle of Cannae, amply prove that the special powers conferred upon them were no gratuitous grants. But in the Constitution of the United States, the political power invested in the owners of slaves is entirely gratuitous. No extraordinary service is required of them; they are, on the contrary, themselves grievous burdens upon the insurrections, to be smothered in the blood of both parties, master and slave, and always depressing the condition of the poor free labor, by competition with the labor of the slave. The property in horses was the gift of God to man at the creation of the world; the property in slaves is property acquired and held by crimes, differing in no moral aspect from the piling of a freshet, and to which no lapse of time can give a present right; and it is held that this is an evil of yours, and that the question of freedom and slavery is exclusively reserved to the consideration of the separate States. But if it be so, then a more question of right between master and slave, it is of tremendous concern to you, that this little cluster of slave owners should possess, besides their own share in the representative hall of the nation, the exclusive privilege of appointing two-fifths of the whole number of the representatives of the people. This is now your condition, under the security of this species of property in all the slaveholding States; and, indeed, was so vital to the security of this clause that it constituted a fundamental article, without which the Union of which the Union could not have been formed. It is true design was to guard against the doctrines and principles prevalent in the non-slaveholding States, in preventing them from intermeddling with, or obstructing, or abolishing the rights of the owners of slaves.

Historically, it is well known that the object of this clause was to secure to the citizens of the slaveholding States the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves, as property, in every State in the Union into which they might escape. The full recognition of this right and title was indispensable to the security of this species of property in all the slaveholding States; and, indeed, was so vital to the security of this clause that it constituted a fundamental article, without which the Union could not have been formed.

In such an event, there would be no need of Anti-Slavery societies, of Abolition agitations, to convert the North. The blow that would sever the Union for this cause would produce an instantaneous explosion to shake the whole land. The moral sentiment against slavery, now kept down by the interests and duties which grow out of union, would burst its fetters, and be reinforced by the whole strength of the patriotic principle, as well as by all the prejudices and local passions which would follow disunion.

There is a more excuse for communities, when a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.

It is to be said, that the South will insist on this clause, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. . . . If the necessity be real, then it follows that the free States are the guardians and essential supports of the institution; and yet we are told that we sustain no relation to slaves.

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## POETRY.

For the Liberator.  
PERSEVERE.  
Persevere not be disheartened,  
Earnest Christians—noble band!  
Who to the oppressed and needy  
Lend a ready, helping hand.

But, when persecuting bitter  
Meets you on your heavenward way,  
This remember, 'deepest darkness  
Just precedes the dawn of day.'

Let not earthly power favor  
Bid you from the right depart;  
Look for your reward to Heaven,  
And to an approving heart.

Persevere, and never falter;  
Soon the glorious light of day,  
Breaking o'er your path, shall scatter  
All the shades of night away.

J. M. E.

Haverhill, Mass.

From the American, Waterbury, Ct.

THE HAUNTED CHAMBER.

BY SOLOMON SWANED.

In thy heart there is a chamber—  
None but God and thou have seen it—  
Darkened by the sombre shadows  
From the folds of thought that screen it.

On its walls are many pictures,  
Painted by the hand of Time,  
Sketches of those mystic regions  
In the Infinite sublime.

There are portraits of the faces  
That have passed away from earth;  
Glimpses of those sunny places  
Sacred to thy childhood mirth.

Of the homestead, old and mossy,  
Close beside the meadow green,  
Where the brooks, like threads of silver,  
Wound their graceful curve between.

And it is a haunted chamber:  
There the ghosts at midnight stray,  
Silent as the stars that wander  
Down the white-paved Milky Way.

You behold the light forms trembling  
In their pure robes, like a bride,  
And they look so much like living,  
You forget that they have died.

You forget the marble features  
Of the friend you laid to rest,  
You forget the pale hands folded  
On the pulseless, soulless breast.

But you see him slowly walking  
'Mid the glow life's sunset weaves,  
When his lips dropp'd farewell blessings,  
And the trees their autumn leaves.

Thus comes he, long since departed,  
Reaching out his hands to thine,  
And his lips unto thee murmur  
In a tone which seems divine.

This chamber stands a mirror,  
Memory's lamp hangs overhead,  
Throwing down a soot'd radiance  
On these pictures of the dead.

It's clear depths we distinguish  
What we were, and what we are;  
There, our inner life reflected,  
Shows us hideous or fair.

Oh ! 'tis in this secret chamber  
That we learn a solemn truth,  
As, in links of spirit union,  
Age is join'd again with youth.

Trinity College, 1857.

From Sheldon Chatwin's new volume of Poems.

NO CROSS, NO CROWN.

'Tis eve, and in a lowly room  
A student sat in sombre gloom,  
Twirling his fingers in his hair,  
Like one in reverie, or despair:

Before him lay an open book,  
Sadness was in his languid look;  
And as he trac'd the pages o'er,  
Four golden words his spirit broke—

No cross, no crown !

Around, in deathlike silence, stood  
The forms of many great and good—  
Prophets and martyrs crucified;

Stern patriots, who for freedom died ;  
And poets, who died desolate,

Scanning the wondrous scroll of fate;

While glory round their foreheads shone,

He read upon their lips of stone—

No cross, no crown !

Hard was the toil through learning's lore,  
For one so young and worldly poor;

His books were precious, though but few,  
And deathless fire from heaven he drew.

Heart-wearied oft, and overwrought,

He traced in throbbing lines his thought,

And 'mid his toil this seemed to be

The voice alone of destiny—

No cross, no crown !

This is the motto of the brave,  
And this the watchword of the slave;

The patriot's with the people's scorn,

The martyr's with his gallant's thorn,

Whoever seeks to win a name,

Whoever toils for freedom's fame,

Whoever human toils would dry,

Let this forever be his cry—

No cross, no crown !

—A HUNDRED YEARS TO COME.

Oh, where will be the birds that sing,

A hundred years to come?

The flowers that now in beauty spring,

A hundred years to come?

The rosy lip, the lofty brow,

The heart that beats so gaily now ?

Oh, where will be the beaming eye,

Joy's pleasant smile, and Sorrow's sigh,

A hundred years to come?

Wh'll press for gold this crowded street,

A hundred years to come?

Wh'll tread thy church with willing feet,

A hundred years to come?

Pale, trembling age, and fiery youth,

And childhood with its brow of truth,

The rich and poor, on land and sea,

Where will the mighty millions be,

A hundred years to come?

We all within our graves shall sleep,

A hundred years to come!

No living soul for us will weep,

A hundred years to come!

But other men our lands will till,

And others then our streets will fill;

While other birds will sing as gay,

As bright the sunshine as to-day,

A hundred years to come!

—INFLUENCE.

If in one poor bleeding bosom,

I a woe-sung chord have stilled;

If a dark and restless spirit

I with hope of heaven have filled;

If I've made, for life's hard battle,

One faint heart grow brave and strong;

Then, my God, I thank thee, bless thee,

For the precious gift of song. CURWOOD.

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## THE LIBERATOR.

It is not perhaps too much to say, that the one great ambition of the Democratic party is to beat the devil himself.

So, too, but for an entirely opposite reason, we are saved from inquiring into the relations of the Garrison party and the Radical Abolition party to the poor Jerry. The righteousness of these parties is as palpable as the unrighteousness of the Democratic party. William Lloyd Garrison and William Goodell have never faltered in their fidelity to the slave. They have never consented to weigh judicial, legislative, or even Constitutional authority against his right to liberty. And they, who sympathize and act with these noble leaders in the cause of American Liberty, know no law for slavery, but all law for its abolition